

Full Length Research Paper

Trends in first page priorities of Indian print media reporting - A content analysis of four English Language newspapers

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A critical analysis of the first page reporting priorities of the four leading news papers- The Hindustan Times, The Indian Express, The Times of India (all being published from New Delhi and Lucknow) and The Hindu (Only from New Delhi and Southern States) reveals a number of interesting shifts in the paradigms of news reporting and values. The analysis, which involves the first page news coverage (including headlines, type of content, photos and advertisements), offered an insight into the departures from the traditional news values. The study has witnessed a growing trend for first reporting and investigative reporting, treating news as a commercialized commodity for mass consumption, filled with crime, legal disputes, politics, etc. with economic, social and development news taking a backseat. The pages of the news papers are filled with increased use of large and small color photos (especially photos of the main players in each story), and the use of long titles and large fonts for even short reports to make up the space of the first page look compact, suggesting a crisis for news due to intense competition and acquiring contours of magazine journalism/tabloidization. These findings read with the characteristics of market driven journalism, originally emanated from the US in 1990s, suggest an increasing tabloidization and trivialization of news. This study applies the strong and weak market orientation theories of Randal Beam to the Indian media, and attempts to correlate developments in India's newsrooms with respect to print media's ability to retain accountability to the public.

Key words: Paradigm shift, news values, globalization, coverage, strong market orientation, weak market orientation, political, crime, investigative, economic, social and legal.

INTRODUCTION

The Indian media are booming on all the fronts print, electronic and web journalism (Vanita Kohli, 2003). All this owes its credit to globalization and economic reforms ushered into during 1991 - 1996. The thrust and impetus the economic reforms and globalization received, both before 1991 - 1996 and after, resulted in the reformatting of the news papers, especially the print media, which not only increased their number of pages but also began to

issue special supplements each day under different categories gender-wise (women's page), subject wise (Education, Employment or Opportunities, Finance/investment, Health, Youth page Matrimonials, Classifides, etc.). This was done in order to widen their readership and to cater to the vast advertising requirements of business establishments, large software and hardware multinational and national corporations, motor and vehicle industries, besides banks and infrastructure (telecom and mobile) organizations that had started burgeoning since 1995 (Chakravarty, 1996; Chakravarty, 1996; Keval, 2004).

Further, to overcome the competition arising from the

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magazine genres such as *India Today* (1975) and *Chitralekha* (started in 1950, went into color by 1981), which by then already went into colour print, the black and white mastheads of the majority English national news papers (papers turned into color, followed by coloured *The Hindu*, *The Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times*, etc) and the regional (*Eenadu* and *Vaaritha*, *Andhra Jyoti* etc in Telugu) news special Sunday editions and supplements (Robin, 1998 and 2000). Thus, an unprecedented competition had ensued among the national and regional news papers to attract the readers both by way of slashing the prices (Samir Jain's-*Times of India* formula of fixing price for each day's paper differently) and increasing the number of pages in the form of special daily supplements (Sonwalkar, 2002; Mishra, 2002; Menon, 2004; Kumar, 2004).

In the regional editions, zone wise publications, aptly called 'district editions' by Robin (2000), in half-demy size began during the 1990s with colored mastheads, and *Eenadu* alone had around 32 such zonal editions attached to main newspapers. Soon this was followed by other competitors *Vaaritha*, *Andhra Bhoomi*, *Andhra Jyoti*, etc in Andhra Pradesh. Later this culture spread through the entire South India (Sevanti Ninan, 2007; Vanita Kohli, 2003; Jeffrey Robin, 1998, 2000).

Almost all such supplements and additions earmarked a lot space for classifieds and large advertisements (defined as major advertisements in this paper). These structural changes followed by a number of technological modifications in the production processes logically led to manifold increase in the circulation figures consequently garnering bulk of advertisements from big business houses and augmenting the gross revenues of print media (Sevanti, 2007; Vanita 2003; Ravindranathan, 2004, 2005). This marked the beginning of the market driven or market oriented journalism in India, though it originally commenced in the US in the 1980s but picked up momentum in late 1990s and spread to the developing nations like India, China, etc. (Randal, 1995, 1998, 2002 and 2003). The share of the advertising in the total revenues of the Indian media has been steadily increasing since the liberalization process began in the 1990s from a supplementary of 25 - 30% in the early 1990s to 45 - 55% in 2004 (Sharma, 2002). Until a few years ago, India had only a handful of market research agencies. But today they stood at more than 20 by 2004, most of which are owned by multinationals (Shakuntala and Johal, 2007).

The circulation figures and advertising revenue therefore took precedence over the editorial policies turning upside down the conventional pyramid (with Editorial department top and Commercial interests at bottom), with commercial considerations top and the editorial departments at base (Ray, 2006, 2007; Ghosh, 2007). The dominance of advertising world over editorial functions touched its zenith when a soft cool drink *Rasna*' ran an

advertisement right in the middle of editorial space in *The Saturday Times*, a color supplement of *TOI*, heralding a new era of commercial and marketing interests overtaking the editorial priorities¹ (Vanita, 2003).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Randal (2003) defines market driven or market oriented journalism as 'an organization which selects target markets for its product, identifies the wants and needs of potential customers in its target markets, and seeks to satisfy those wants and needs as efficiently as possible' (2003). For a news organization, a strong market orientation implies that the newspaper, magazine, or television station will aggressively seek to determine the kinds of information that readers or viewers say they want or need and will provide it, says Randal (2003).

In his famous book, "Market Driven Journalism-Let the Citizen be aware?", Manus (1994) writes, 'adopting sensitivity to audience ratings similar to that of local television news, news papers has diminished the traditional role of 'professional' journalists as arbiters of which events and issues are news worthy'. He states further, 'managers are telling journalists to let the public decide what becomes news by paying attention to what kinds of reports are most highly valued in the market place. Citing the present market driven corporate model of print media in operation, Manus says, 'this market driven journalism may lead to four social impacts: the consumers are likely to learn less from the news, consumers may be misled, news may become manipulative, and viewers may become apathetic about politics (1994).

Stepp (1991) wrote that news papers are now moving 'to embrace such topics as parenting or hobbies or shopping, and willingness to billboard such subjects on the front page-often at the expense of the government news papers have diminished. (1991). Bogart (1982), former executive vice-president of the Newspapers Advertising Bureau, wrote, 'many editors appear to have been convinced that more and bigger photographs and more 'features' and 'personality journalism' were necessary counters to the visual and entertainment elements of TV (1982). Nash (1998), a former journalist, argues that competition for audiences is driving a trend toward trivial news. He argues further, 'by chasing the passing whims of focus groups and surveys, most news papers have shriveled coverage of major political, economic and social issues in favor of soft features, personality profiles, how to advice and a focus on the process rather than the substance of governance'. Thussu (2007, 2005 and 2000) too concurs with the same definitions of Randal. The media scape of the South, writes Thussu (2007) has been transformed in the 1990s under the impact of 'neo-liberal, market-oriented economic policies' that

encourage privatization and deregulation. In India, the increasing marketization of news, Thussu (2005) argues, has created a façade of media plurality when in fact it is 'contributing to a democratic deficit in the world's largest democracy' (2005).

Croteau and Hoynes (2001) also address that theme: "...crude market-oriented media systems do not allow for any distinction between people's roles as consumers, which are private and individual, and their roles as citizens, which are public and collective. This is why market-oriented media have a tendency to produce economic benefits while simultaneously creating democratic deficits."

In his latest book, 'News as Entertainment', Thussu (2007) argues, 'fierce competition between proliferating news networks for ratings and advertising has prompted them to provide news in an entertaining manner and broadcasters have adapted their news operations to retain their viewers or to acquire them anew'. 'In the process, symbiotic relationship between the news and news formats of current affairs and factual entertainment genres, such as reality TV has developed, blurring the boundaries between news, documentary and entertainment', says Thussu (2007).

Such policies include opening up the media industries to profit-seeking transnational corporations who are more interested in entertainment than public service (Shakuntala and Navjit, 2007).

"With post cold-war globalization, the US inspired news and entertainment programs made up of game, chat, and reality shows; programming that Clausen (2004) calls 'the transnational genre conventions' has come to dominate the mediascape of the South, including the content of the Indian media" (Shakuntala and Johal, 2007).

Today, the Indian media are passing through dramatic shift in favor of consumerism and the content of the media is becoming more and more market driven (Sharma, 2002). Randal (2000) points out that a similar situation in the US has caused the market driven journalism in print media in the post 1990s. Randal (2000), in his extensive studies, quoting the works of Albers (1995), Kohli and Jaworski (1990), and Doug and Keith Stamm (1992) on the US print media market-driven journalism, including content analysis, found that there are two types of market driven journalisms: Strong market orientation and Weak market orientation. Strong market orientation media had lesser content of public sphere or public service and public affairs than weak market orientation.

However, Randal (2003) observed that despite market driven journalism of the strong market oriented media, the latter retained the accountability to the public and its adversarial role. One more assumption about the market driven journalism of strong market oriented print media is, 'they devote excessive resources to the publication's

appearance and to providing readers with devices that allow easy processing of information' (Randal, 2000; Manus, 1996).

Nash (1998), for example argues that the 'editors are spending less time considering content and much more on layout, graphics, typefaces, pictures or photos and grabby headlines'. Randal (2003) applied his methodology of content analysis only to analyze two things broadly: i.) content differences among strong and weak newspapers, ii.) lay out differences in making up pages. Robin (2000) in his exhaustive study on Indian news paper revolution placed much of the emphasis on the strategies the strong corporate houses adopted, which got Indian print media in treating the localization of news as a saleable commodity. He observed that commercialization of local news in the form of color supplements on a variety of subjects has been the singular strategy for increasing advertisements and revenues, besides expanding the readership zones state and district wise (2000).

Writing about the revolution of Hindi news papers in the heart land of India, Sevanti (2007) traced that the upsurge in the post 1990s was due to the synchronous working of several factors such as increased literacy and political awareness among the rural people due to the BJP and Mandal politics, besides the tilt of the bigger corporate media from the elitist class to literacy class. Secondly, she also noted that the rural revolution in the Hindi heart land was also a post television phenomenon. People who happened to access the television got excited at the developments and the reportings seen on the small screen and liked to curiously know more about them in the print media next day (Ninan, 2007). Thirdly, there was a phenomenal localization of news in the form of additional supplements which placed emphasis on the local crime, politics, entertainment and life styles. All this added to the growing popularity of Hindi news papers region wise and by 2006, the Hindi news papers occupied the top 5 positions among the top 10 positions throwing English news papers like the Times of India to go for 11th position (Ninan, 2007).

Though the works of Robin (2000), Thussu (1995 - 2007) and Ninan (2007) indicated the existence of the characteristics of market driven journalism in the Indian print and TV media, they are based more on observations than any systematic study. We, however, found that in Ninan's latest work (2007), she had indeed collected samples of regional editions and examined the items against the characteristics of market driven journalism, a chapter which she had exclusively done under the title 'The Universe of the Local News' on the Hindi papers. But such a study was not done against the English news dailies such as what we have taken in our study.

Randal Beam (2003) argued that the strong market oriented media players still retained the grit for the accountability and not pandered to the audience interests

Table 1. Showing distribution of common news items in the first page among four news dailies.

S. No.	Name of the news daily	Major (%)	Minor (%)
1.	Times of India	26 (9.5)	09 (3.29)
2.	The Hindustan Times	33 (11.4)	04 (1.37)
3.	The Indian Express	24 (8.9)	11 (4.11)
4.	The Hindu	33(11.85)	07(2.45)

totally. Randal Beam defined 'accountability' in a different way in his study. He observed that the US media and its news rooms retained the freedom of editorial decisions with regard to offering information on issues of public importance despite the over riding effect of market driven journalistic characteristics appearing in the pages of news papers. Our study also focused on these aspects of Indian newspapers (see research questions).

The present study therefore endeavors to examine the applicability of Randal (2003) observations of market driven journalism to the Indian English print media, comprising four major English news dailies-Times of India, Hindustan Times, The Hindu and Indian Express in terms of content differences and lay out design. We further seek to establish how this transition to market driven journalism, which started in India in the 1990s as an offshoot of liberalization and as an US driven market oriented global journalism, has to come to stay and stabilize in Indian print media with reference to selected leading English news dailies published from Lucknow region and Delhi (in the case of The Hindu), besides exploring some of the consequences of such a deviation.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As the study explores how market oriented characteristics of US born market driven journalism in post globalization affected the Indian English news dailies, the following assumptions may be appropriate to make.

RQ1: Will the Randal Beam theory of strong market orientations concerning the market driven journalism apply to the Indian English news papers selected for the study?

RQ 2: Did the characteristics of market driven journalism impact on journalistic practices of the present selected media?

RQ 3: Did the characteristics of market driven journalism account for the current differences in the first page priorities of reporting and the lay out of the selected media in the present study?

RQ 4: Do the selected Indian print media still have the accountability to the public in spite of market driven priorities?

METHODOLOGY

The study is a simple *descriptive* and *analytical content analysis*, though quantitative estimates of the first page contents were carried out to find out the differences among the four English news dailies-Times of India, Indian Express, The Hindustan Times and The Hindu-- based on the count of maximum number of 'recording units' (news items, photos, advertisements) falling under each of the six defined content categories proportionately representing first page priorities in order to support the findings.

The methodology used for the estimation of percentages of each category (Table 6) represented on the first page was based on the previous methodologies reported by Randal (2003) and Lars and Stromback (2006). Tables 1 and 5a - d represent the percentages of the recording units.

In other words, the study analyzed the first page coverage of all the 'recording units' (reported news items, photos and advertisements) which were counted per page and were put under different content categories. See Tables 2 and 3 for the content categories and sub-categories.

The categories under which the first page news items have been counted and segregated are political, crime, legal, Investigative, social, and economic. The operational definitions of these terms were also explained.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CATEGORIES AND TERMS OF DISCOURSE

For the purpose of the study, the authors divided the content of the first page, also referred to in this study as *coverage* of the first page, into six broad categories-Political, Crime, Legal, Social Economic and Investigative.

We followed the popular key words (as used in Google search) method used in content analysis. A small group of sub-categories under which the coders identified and grouped the recording units is indicated in Table 3.

Recording units

With regard to major news items and minor news items, major photos, minor photos, major advertisements and minor advertisements, the definitions were given under the Table 2 as a note (However, regarding news item the definitions the definitions are included here).

Major news item: A major news item is any item that appeared in

Table 2. Frequency of items on the first page.

Description	TOI	HT	IE	TH
News				
i. Major	194	169	168	152
ii. Minor	79	121	99	133
Photos				
i. Major	31	40	27	33
ii. Minor	121	126	114	35
Adverts				
i. Major	14	00	14	22
ii. Minor	97	08	59	14

TOI: Minor News: News Digest and Snap-Shots (Sunday); HT: Minor News: Short-Takes; IE: Minor News: Quick Takes; TH: Minor News: Briefly; Photos: Major: 2 to 8 Column in width running up to 4" to 8" in height; Photos: Minor: 1 to 1 1/2 Col in width running up to 1" to 2" in height; Adverts: Major: 2 to 8 Column in width running up to 4" to 8" in height; Adverts: Minor: Single Column sq. centimeter.

the main front page (first page in this study) than the left extreme column.

Minor news item: Any news item which appeared in the left extreme column every day including Sunday.

Major photos: 2 to 8 columns in width running up to 4" to 8" in height.

Minor photos: 1 to one and a half columns in width running up to 1" to 2" in height.

Major adverts: 2 to 8 columns in width running up to 4" to 8" in height.

Minor adverts: Single column sq. centimeter.

Content categories

Political: All the news items covering regional, national and international political issues including policy statements of the ministers which comprise international policy, etc. statements against/for regional governments, spat between politicians, political criticisms quota bills, communal issues, and cultural and sports.

Crime: It consists of two categories of crime.

Crime by politicians: One is political crime where politicians are involved such as *Tehelka*, Gujarat riots, murders for political gains such as Shibu Soren, murder and rapes for enjoyment by politicians, etc.

Crime by others: Anti-social elements, professional criminals, incidental act of crimes such as road rage, hit and run causing accidents.

(a) Legal: All matters pertaining to matters of dispute before Judiciary-low end to high end that is Supreme Court. Similarly, matters covered by Tribunals, disputes pertaining to civil and criminal by individuals before the court of law, pronouncements of

judgments by the judiciary, directives and action plans of election Commission of India.

(b) Social: Activities involving public importance such as development news, infrastructure, welfare measures such as national rural employment guarantee scheme, pensions for the old age, insurance for the labour, health schemes for the poor, health and environment etc. Even matters related to celebrities such as marriages, gossips of their love, and entertainment programmes were brought under this category.

(c) Economic: Matters related to prices, price hike, business, sensex, exim policy, exports and imports, performance of corporate sector, relief measures for corporate sectors, dearness allowances, support prices, agricultural measures to boost agro-economy, etc.

(d) Investigative: Investigative journalism included specialized stories for each paper on the unknown side of an individual politician, bureaucrat, corruption, scandals involving misuse of machinery, funds, etc.

The actual content among these items under each category has been regrouped into four sub-categories as can be seen in Table 3.

(e) Market driven journalism: As Randal (1995 - 2000) observed that *market driven journalism* will discourage the news media from providing important information about public affairs (Kohli and Jawoski, 1990).

Croteau and Hoynes (2001) broadly described 'public affairs' as "the information about current events, government, civic affairs, the public interest and democratic processes (Table 10).

Strong market oriented media

Strong market oriented print media de-emphasize public service journalism, leaving society without the information necessary to govern itself. They show tendency to focus on crime, sex, sleaze, with graphic presentations and attractive colors and color photos. Strong market oriented media would have larger circulation and therefore higher advertising revenue (Mc Mannus, 1994; Croteau and Hyones, 2001; Underwood and Stamm, 1992.)

Table 3. Total frequency of items under categories and sub-categories.

Code and category	TOI	HT	IE	TH
Political				
Pi. Issue based stories (N and IN)	67	81	75	117
Pii. Quota bills	01	04	13	08
Piii. Communal issues	09	05	05	04
Piv. Cultural and sports	15	12	14	09
Crimes				
Ci. Political crimes and violence	17	23	29	33
Cii. Apolitical crimes	39	28	21	34
Ciii. Accidents and riots	03	11	06	06
Civ. Shady-deals	01	02	02	00
Investigative				
I.i Policy Issues	00	03	07	01
I ii. Corruption	00	01	01	01
I iii. Sex scandals	00	01	01	00
I iv. Inaction/failure of Government	00	03	01	00
Economic				
E.i. Agriculture	03	02	07	07
E.ii. Suicides	01	00	03	04
E iii. Sensex/Scrips/RBI policies	00	02	01	02
E.iv. Industrial promotion/SEZs.	03	10	10	05
Social				
S.i. Welfare	19	10	07	05
S.ii. Health/environment	10	13	17	05
S.iii. Education	12	12	05	03
S.iv. Infrastructure/ development	21	02	04	00
Legal				
L.i. HC	22	26	25	24
L.ii. SC	13	14	05	06
L.iii. Legal courts	14	14	08	07
L. iv. Judiciary-legislature Conflict/Election Commission	03	11	00	04
	273	290	267	285

Codes for each category: Political: Pi. Issue based Stories (N and IN) Pii. Quota bills Piii. Communal Issues Piv. Cultural and Sports. Crimes: Ci. Political Crimes and Violence Cii. Apolitical Crimes. Ciii. Accidents and Riots. Civ. Shady-deals. Investigative I.i Policy Issues. I ii. Corruption I iii. Sex Scandals I iv. Inaction/failure of Govt. Economic: E.i. Agriculture E.ii. Suicides E iii. Sensex/Scrips/RBI Policies E.iv. Industrial Promotion/SEZs. Social: S.i. Welfare S.ii. Health S.iii. Education S.iv.

Table 4. Mean of news items appearing in each paper's front page.

Adding up of news items appearing in the front page of TOI, HT, IE and TH	273+290+267+285
Expected number or mean of items that can appear in each paper's front page	$\frac{273+290+267+285}{4} = 278.5$

Weak market oriented media

This characterized by the low circulation and low advertising revenues. It offers more information related to 'public affairs' (Mc Mannus, 1994, Croteau and Hyones. 2001, Underwood and Stamm, 1992).

Journalistic practices

Journalistic practices are characterized by the selection of news, analysis of news, placing of news and utility of news and discriminating the news as per its news values in offering in an

Table 5a. Percentages of news items actually reported for in front page of each news paper.

S. N.	Name of the news paper	Percentage calculation	Percentage (%)
1.	Times of India	$100 \times 273/278.5$	98
2.	Hindustan Times	$100 \times 290/278.5$	104
3.	Indian Express	$100 \times 267/278.5$	95.8
4.	The Hindu	$100 \times 285/278.5$	102.3

Table 5b. Percentages of news items out of total items (including photos and adverts) in the front page of each news paper.

Name of the news paper	Adding up total items in the front page	Percentage of news items out of all others (%)
Times of India	$273+152+111=436$	62.61
Hindustan Times	$290+166+08=464$	62.5
Indian Express	$267+141+73=481$	55.5
The Hindu	$285+68_{36}=389$	73.26

Table 5c. Percentages of Photos out of total items in the front page of each news paper.

Name of the news paper	Number of photos in each paper	Calculation	Percentage (%)
Times of India	152	$100 \times 152/436$	34.86%
Hindustan Times	166	$100 \times 166/464$	35.77%
Indian Express	141	$100 \times 141/481$	29.31%
The Hindu	68	$100 \times 68/389$	17.48%

Table 5d. Percentages of Adverts out of total items in the front page of each news paper.

S. No.	Name of the news paper	Number of adverts	Calculation	Percentage (%)
1	Times of India	111	$100 \times 111/436$	25.45
2	Hindustan Times	08	$100 \times 08/464$	1.72
3	Indian Express	73	$100 \times 73/481$	15.17
4	The Hindu	36	$100 \times 36/389$	9.25

order of priority.

It reflects the editorial policy and journalistic ethics and freedom of expression. (Table 11 for a comparative study of old and new journalistic practices period wise).

Impact

The term 'impact' has been used in the study in the sense of how the characteristics of market driven journalism have changed the journalistic practices as found in the changed priorities of the news items being reported in the first page of the selected print media. It also relates to how the change has occurred in the general layout and design of the first page.

Accountability

Shakuntala and Navjit (2007) found that 'accountability' is the ability of media to arouse public opinion regarding an issue and to make the government respond to it as happened in the case of Jessica Lal murder case in 1999. But, in a different study of electronic media's content analysis, Shakuntala (2008) argued that the Indian broadcast media, despite being market driven, retained the accountability by demanding explanation from the government with regard to corruption, crime and legal issues. She defined the accountability as 1.) Revealing information after extensive and close scrutiny of the conditions in which people live; 2.) Locating their problems; 3.) Reporting criticisms of the government; and 4.) Reporting positive results.

Table 6. Percentages of news items reported category wise.

Name of the news paper	Political (%)	Crimes (%)	Investigative (%)	Economic (%)	Social (%)	Legal (%)
Times of India	33.69	21.97	0	2.56	22.7	19
Hindustan Times	35.17	22.06	2.75	4.82	12.75	25.86
Indian Express	40	21.07	3.7	7.8	12.3	14.23
The Hindu	48.42	25.61	0.7	6.3	4.56	14.38

Table 7. Mean standard deviation and coefficient of variation of the items of the coverage.

Name of the news paper	Mean \bar{X}	Standard deviation	Coefficient of variation	Variance
The Times of India	45.60	26.33	57.74	693.26
The Hindustan Times	48.33	32.50	67.24	1056.25
The Indian Express	44.50	31.63	71.00	1000.45
The Hindu	47.50	46.57	98.04	2168.76

Table 8. Determining the correlation coefficient between the four news dailies for items of news coverage.

Correlation between	$\sum x^2$	$\sum Y^2$	$\sum xy$	Coefficient of Correlation r
TOI (x) and HT (y)	4160.20	6336.93	6376.65	+1.24*-0.1480=+1.09
HT (x) and IE (y)	6336.93	6005.50	6190.18	+1.004
TOI (x) and IE(y)	4160.20	6005.50	4656.30	+0.931
TH (x) and TOI	13013.25	4160.20	6930.10	+0.941
TH(x) and IE(y)	13013.25	6005.50	8702.50	+0.984
TH (x) and HT(y)	13013.25	6336.93	8874.15	+0.977

Corrected using probable error for coefficient of correlation $r=0.6745x1-- r^2 / \sqrt{N}$.

Table 9. Analysis of variance of the frequencies of news items in coverage among four dailies.

Source of variation	SS	Degrees of freedom df	Mean squares MS	F-Ratio	1% level of significance
Between sample	61.08	(k-1) = 4-1=3	20.36	20.36/ 1478.48 = 0.0137	F (3.20) = 4.94
Within sample	29515.88	(n-k) 24-4=20	1478.48		
Total	29576.96	23			

The observed F is 0.0137 < 4.94 for the 3, 20 factor level of v1/ v2 of the table F. Therefore the difference in the sample is not significant and is therefore a good sample in terms of recording units both between groups and within groups of categories.

Coverage: All the news items reported in the first page, irrespective of the categories they belong to, constitute the coverage and form the part of the sample under analysis.

Common reporting: News items both as headlines, or shoulder or anchor items that are common among all the news papers' first pages constituted *common reporting*.

Diverse reporting: News items as headlines or other items in the first page which are different among the chosen sample of news papers constituted diverse reporting. Further, the characteristics of the lay out of the first pages of all news papers and the differences among them which included the number and size of photos and

advertisements, etc. occupying the space of the first page were also analyzed using simple percentages of space they proportionately represented as followed by Lars and Stromback (2006).

Inter coder reliability: Holsti's percentage agreement and Soctt's Pi

We used inter-coder reliability using the key words of each category of the content for determining the category of each item. We have taken only the percentages of the count of the news items (instead of the percentages of the column centimeters space each item

Table 10. Showing characteristics of Market Driven Journalism (Sourced from Randal Beam's Work: content differences with strong and weak market orientations, 2003).

S. no.	Description of content of market driven journalism
1	Readers want information on what might be called the 'private sphere'—life style, entertainment, recreation, news to use.
2	Behavior of strong market oriented papers differs from the weak market oriented papers in the sense weak market oriented papers offer more information about 'public sphere' as opposed to strong market oriented papers which offer 'private sphere'.
3	The size of the corporate sector which offers information determines the characteristics of market oriented journalism.
4	Weak market oriented papers relatively reflect investigative journalism as opposed to strong market oriented journalism.
5	In market driven journalism, editors of strong market papers spend less time on content and more time on lay out, graphics, type of faces, pictures and grabby headlines. Such layout and make up is considered as navigational tools for the readers to make an easy reading as they are facing crunch of time.
6	The market driven journalism concerns with mass culture and shifts from elitist class of information.
7	Mass culture products often focus on 'lowest-common-denominator content' in order to build the largest possible audience.
8	Extensive photos, graphics, and summary boxes and navigational tools might be viewed as effective tools to appeal to audience with comparatively low level of education.
9	News papers with strong market orientation would place more stress on visual content than news papers with a relatively weak market orientation.

occupies) of corresponding category they (the news items) represented proportionately in the space of first page such as political, crime, legal, economic, social, investigative. Since first page does not offer the full content of each story and tries to offer maximum stories, we felt that measuring the content in terms of the column centimeters is not going to reflect better analysis than the count of the items covered in the first page.

Procedure followed for Inter-coder reliability Holsti's percentage agreement

As we have taken four news papers—Times of India (TOI), The Indian Express (IE), The Hindustan Times (HT), The Hindu (TH)—for study, a count of all the 'recording units' (reporting news items, photos and adverts) in the first page was done using *key words* for each content category the items of the content may belong to. Using the operational definitions for 'recording units' and the content categories—political, social, economic, legal, crime, investigative, the coders—one was the first author himself and the other was the author's colleague involved in the same study, had taken 20% of the sample of all items ($N = 273$ for TOI, $N = 290$ for HT, $N = 267$ for IE and $N = 285$ for TH) of each paper's first page content and coded them to find the degree of reliability of coding using Holsti's formula for inter-coder reliability. Using Holsti's (1969) reliability coding ($PA_0 = 2A/(n_A + n_B)$), we achieved 95% reliability.

Validity

The authors had mutually exchanged the coded content for recoding again to validate the reliability of coding. The authors also had taken different samples of the total content amounting to 20% of each paper's first page content for coding and recoding. On these finally coded categories, we have performed the Holsti's reliability again to verify our previous results. We have found a consistent 95% reliability of the coded content.

Scott's Pi to eliminate chance agreement

However, to avoid chance agreement in the coding, we used paper (Scott's $pi = PA_0 - PA_E/1 - PA_E$). Our values of Scott's pi were 0.641

for *Times of India*, 0.672 for *Hindustan Times*, 0.621 for *Indian Express* and 0.690 for *The Hindu* which showed that the reliability coding by chance agreement is less.

The study further carried out standard deviation for each of the news papers items reported in the first page (all categories put together) and measured co-efficient of variation. A statistic tool of ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) was carried out to measure any differences in the samples obtained for the study.

The observed F is $0.0137 < 4.94$ for the 3, 20 factor level of v_1/v_2 of the Table F. Therefore, the difference in the sample is less significant between the groups and within the groups of recording units.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE OF THE STUDY

Four major English news dailies: The Times of India (TOI), The Hindustan Times (HT), The Indian Express (IE) and The Hindu (TH) have constituted the population of the study. The study covered 30 consecutive days of the above dailies between September 1, 2006 - September 30, 2006. Whereas TOI, HT and IE were Lucknow regional editions, the Hindu was Delhi based edition. The choice is deliberate to draw appropriate comparisons with regard to coverage, photos and advertisements between one Delhi based national level news paper—*The Hindu*-- with the three regional editions: TOI, HT and IE, though the latter three have Delhi based national editions also. The Delhi editions or other editions of these three news papers—The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, and The Indian Express were not covered for the study. Further, the study is restricted to first page alone as first page plays a very important role in the context of conveying news headlines of the day as quickly as the TV headlines convey to the viewers. Further, first page assumes tremendous significance in terms of attracting the readers at glance. In view of this analysis, sample is limited to the first page itself. A total of 273 recording units for TOI, 290 recording units for HT, 267 recording units for IE and 285 recording units for TH constituted the study under population.

Category of sampling

Sample is a non-random, convenience sample and continuous

Table 11. Showing the differences in journalism practices in the past and the present.

Description of items	Past journalistic practices (1950-1980)	Present journalistic practices (1990-2008)
1. Common headlines	All news papers used to report common news items of national/international/regional importance with rare deviation.	No two news papers report common news items of national/international/regional importance. A deviation to this is very rare.
2. Importance to PM/CM/ President's speeches/ announcements	Such news items used to be in the first page as banner headlines	Most of such items are carried into inner pages.
3. Tributes to national leaders on important dates	Such tributes used to appear in the first page with photographs. Even govt. advertisements appear in the first page only	Such tributes appear in inner pages. Even govt. advertisements appear in the inner pages.
4. Crime reporting	Only inner pages	First page banner headlines
5. Narration of crimes and sketches and photographs of criminals	Very rare/less and not in the first page at any cost. Very rarely deviations could be found.	First page full with sketches, graphs and incident profiles and photographs of victims (ghastly too) and criminals (in heroic posture)
6. Political spat/criticism	Less political spat covered-only prominent political leaders criticism found in the first page	Spat between all political leaders big and small alike fills the first page.
7. Advertisements in first page	Very less and not in the banner or at anchor point of the page. Mostly inner pages. Deviation very rare.	Anywhere in the first page including banner headlines. Even first page full except mast head.
8. Color photos	No color printing in the first page. Only black and white photos.	Full of color printing and a number of large and small color photos in the first page.
9. Reporting of sports and entertainment	Occasionally in the first page such as winning a match or series with a black and white photo.	Full first page with banner headlines till the bottom of page--full coverage including color photos of celebrities and events
10. Informing public and value based reporting	Such reporting was high and a twice verification system followed with good gate keeping.	Less informing public and no proper verification system or efficient gate keeping. Planting stories to defame rivals is high.
11. Page layout	Black and White, no color and no cramming for photos till 1985s.	Color clumsiness and cramming space with photos and adverts.

sample includes Sunday editions.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, the analysis meanders through three broad indicators of market driven journalism-coverage, photos and advertisements, which make up the front page of the four news papers: *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, *The Indian Express* and *The Hindu*.

In respect of coverage, the analysis deals with how different newspapers prioritized the news and reported it under different categories such as political or public affairs, economics, crime, legal, and social. Further, the analysis also dwells on different market driven strategies the print media news rooms resort to as space filling strategies in lieu of the news by making up the first page with long headlines for shorter news items, large fonts for shorter titles. This is besides using photos for all important characters of news and allowing the precious first page space with advertisements.

Coverage

Under coverage, the present study not only tries to focus on the changes in the coverage *per se*, but also endeavors to find out the changes that successively crept into the media reporting of the four selected sample news papers under four broad categories: i.) General features of market driven journalism among four English news dailies ii.) Common reporting vs diverse reporting iii.) Reporting Priorities of different categories and iv.) Page layout--Characteristics of Market Driven Journalism.

General features of market driven journalism among four English news dailies

In respect of coverage *per se* at macro-level, *The Times of India* reported nearly 273 news items (both major and minor news items put together) as against 290 by *The Hindustan Times*; 267 by *The Indian Express*; and 285 by *The Hindu* for the same period and dated issues (Table 1). If the percentages of news items reported as against

total items (including Photos and Adverts) were calculated for each of the news papers (without taking mean into consideration), again the *Times of India* reported less while *The Hindu* reported the highest (Table 5b). The difference between *Times of India* and *Indian Express* was due to less number of advertisements under minor category in *Indian Express* (Table 2).

On the other hand, the difference between the *Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* was largely due to higher number of advertisements under major category in *The Hindu*. Whereas the major advertisements in *The Hindu* were more than the *Times of India*, the advertisements under minor category in the *Times of India* were outnumbering all other newspapers. Tables 2 and 5 (a, b, c and d) show that *Times of India* reported less and *The Hindustan Times* reported highest. *The Indian Express* had a moderate share of advertisements compared to almost negligible share of *The Hindustan Times* (Table 2). Tables 5c and d clearly showed the percentages shared by the photos and advertisements in the front page of each newspaper.

The Times of India had highest share of the first page for photos and advertisements--among all other three newspapers. The *Hindustan Times* had only a slightly higher percentage of shares of photos over *the Times of India*. This is largely due to lack of major advertisements in *The Hindustan Times*. The Major advertisements were zero with minor advertisements being very less in *The Hindustan Times*. As a result, *The Hindustan Times* paper had higher scope for more coverage of news which it does by providing in detail in larger quantities running in long column centimeters. Though the space available for coverage for both *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times* was nearly same, *The Times of India* provides more number of items than news in detail in larger quantities for each item. Thus *The Times of India* offers more space for more news items, more photos and more advertisements compared to *The Hindustan Times*, *Indian Express* and *The Hindu*.

On the other hand, *The Indian Express* which has less advertisements than *The Times of India* but has more than *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* offer greater space for more number of major and minor news items (267) as against *The Times of India* (273) coming close to it in the percentage of coverage. Finally, *The Hindu* has highest space meant for coverage due to its lower share of photos (17.48%) and the advertisements (9.25%).

The discussion in the foreground thus establishes the following facts logically in order of development of analysis:

- 1.) The lesser the Photos, the greater the coverage (The Hindu <The Indian Express<The Times of India< The Hindustan Times).
- 2.) The lesser the Adverts the greater the coverage (The Hindustan Times<The Hindu<Indian Express<The Times

of India).

3.) The overall coverage is greater proportionate to the percentages of the Photos and Adverts (The Hindu> The Times of India> The Hindustan Times>Indian Express).

4.) Where both the photos, adverts and the number of news items were higher or same or nearly equal, the thrust was seemingly on squeezing the space to accommodate more items and render it more diverse (The Times of India>Hindustan Times>Indian Express>The Hindu).

The above inferences reflect a paradigm shift in the perception of the editorial department as to what constitutes the first page priorities of reporting especially in relation to deciding the news from common reporting vs. diverse reporting.

Common reporting vs. diverse reporting

Table 1 showed the number of items commonly reported in the first pages of the four newspapers. Whereas *Times of India* and *Indian Express* had nearly equal percentage-- among major news items-in common reporting of the same news items, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* had equal percentage of common reporting of news items. Similar relationships, as stated above, were found in the case with the minor items.

In terms of greater diversity in coverage, the following equation aptly explains the order--- *The Indian Express* >*Times of India*> *The Hindustan Times* > *The Hindu*. In other words, *The Hindu*, despite absorbing all the modern trends, still retains some of its past value based reporting as far as first page priorities are concerned.

The data presented above showed clearly that both *The Times of India* and *The Indian Express* had more space for diverse reporting compared to *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu Times*.

Whereas *The Times of India* offered the diversity by providing news from a range of subjects including speculative and gossip stories, *The Indian Express* had endeavoured to balance its coverage by offering the news from other states of the country, besides stories on science, health and research.

Priorities of reporting

In our analysis, we found that the market orientations of Indian news papers have allowed the news rooms to process the news or coverage in the following order of priority.

Political>Crime>Legal>Social>Economic>Investigative

a. Political reporting or reporting of public affairs

As a policy, almost all the newspapers have adopted

political reporting as primary mandate of first page coverage. However, the political coverage over years assumed more and more new dimensions with the increasing politicization of more and more spheres along with the increasing globalization and privatization. For instance the recent Indian Premiere League (IPL League) cricket matches and ICL formation began to fall in public affairs domain.

Whereas *The Hindu* had highest coverage of Political News, *The Indian Express* stood next, followed by *The Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India*. Most of these stories belonged to issues related to regional, national and international issues inclusive of policy matters. When it came to Quota Bills (affirmative action), *The Indian Express* had the highest coverage followed by *The Hindu*. However, in respect of communal issues and cultural and sports, it was *The Times of India* which had reported maximum items followed by *The Indian Express*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*. In fact, *The Indian Express* had run special stories in the name of 'Missing Muslim' vis a vis Rajendra Sachar Committee's Report during this period. And as such its own reporting coverage in this regard would automatically be high while other papers did not take as much interest as *The Indian Express* had shown except covering the statements of the ministers including the Prime Minister on this issue.

b. Crime Reporting

The first page reporting today is embedded with unprecedented crime reporting, most of which is again dominated by the political crime and violence. Whereas *The Hindu* had reported the highest, the remaining followed the order: *The Indian Express* > *The Hindustan Times* > *The Times of India*. On the other hand, non-political crime coverage was very high in *The Times of India* followed by *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times* and *Indian Express*. Thus, crime reporting constituted next most important favoured reporting, next to political reporting, in the first page priorities. Most of the crime reported in the front page pertains to the crimes (such as rape or murder) committed against the women of elite society e.g Niana Sahani vs Satish Sarma, Priyadarshini mattoo vs Santosh, Jessical Lal vs Manu Sharma, Nitish Katara vs Vikas Yadav. The crimes such as flesh trade involving political mafia or ring leaders, illegal relationships between some prominent women and political leaders (such as Amarendramai Tripathi, a former Minister in the Cabinet of Mulayam Sing Yadav, Chief Minister of Uttara Pradesh and Madhumati, a noted poetess in Hindi), etc. have run into serial reporting or regular reporting.

At one stage the media set itself to the task of conducting trial on its own—deciding who is who—a matter which should have been rightly decided by the independent but nagging Judiciary in India. Though this kind Media activism proved fruitful in cases like Niana

Sahani or Jessical Lal in reversing the judgments of the lower court by the High courts in bringing the culprits to book, the general feeling is that the media were again selective in cases of crime, which promote its circulation, alleged Sevanti Ninan a regular columnist to *The Hindu*.

Even, the coverage of crime acquired cinematic portrayal or representation. The photographs of ghastly incident, sketches showing how the crime was committed, the media speculations, the public opinion—all offered the story the status of a 'fiction' or a 'crime thriller' that would be of greater interest to the readers which again is a market oriented journalism.

The changing lifestyles of the globalization brought in its wake and the declining traditional values in different walks of life contributed to increasing crime against the women and children due to break down of family centered relations giving way to illegal and unwanted relationships. The repetitive publication of photos of the accused or convicted or witnesses' every time, when a hearing was scheduled in a court of law was suggestive of market-oriented strategy rather than 'value' based reporting. The glorification of victims as well as the perpetrators both touched their zenith following coverage of crime in the front page.

c. Investigative

The study revealed that except *The Indian Express* and *The Hindustan Times*, no other paper under the study has shown deep commitment to the Investigative journalism. But to the extent both the papers, *The Indian Express* and *The Hindustan Times*, had done investigative reporting, a constant and nagging refrain that '...which was first reported in these columns.....' reflected the paper's interests lay elsewhere, preferably marketing. It does not mean that *The Times of India* does not do investigative journalism. It does but occasionally compared to *The Indian Express* and *The Hindustan Times*. Whatsoever may be the subject of investigative journalism, the refrain 'first reported' in the follow up stories shows the investigative journalism more as a craze than as a social commitment done for a cause and purpose. Viewed from this point, investigative journalism became a forte of the paper, be it *The Indian Express* or *The Hindustan Times*. Soon, it appears that it might become a trend of all the news papers including those like *Times of India* and *The Hindu* which were presently maintaining a low key.

This stands in deep contrast with the spirit of investigative journalism done a couple of decades back by Ram and Chitra (*The Hindu*), Arun and Sucheta (*Indian Express*), etc.

d. Economic

It is one important area of reporting in the post globalization and economic reforms. Yet it finds lowest priority among

the others of the first page priorities. In terms of coverage also, *The Indian Express* had given the highest coverage compared to lowest of *The Times of India*. In fact, the price rise, spiraling inflation, the plight of farmers due to lack of support price and marketing from the Government side and increasing stories of farmers' suicides should have taken more precedence over other categories and sub-categories. But, in reality contrary happens with no explanation emerging from the media sources.

e. Social

The Times of India has given more importance to the stories emanating from the social themes backdrop. Whereas *The Hindustan Times* and *The Indian Express* had done some reporting on the social themes, *The Hindu* had done the least. *The Times of India* had reported more on Infrastructure and development followed by Welfare. *Times of India's* coverage of social issues encompassed a bewildering variety of social themes. These include Abhishek Bacchan (Son of popular film star Amitab Bacchan) and Aishwarya Ray's (former Miss Universe) proposed marriage, Abhishek getting the Uttara Pradesh State Film Award. *The Indian Express* had somewhat a different approach and offered a number of articles or reports on wildlife to space science. Most of the social themes tend to be the gossip stories and speculative journalism.

f. Legal

Next to crime, it is the legal stories, which occupied highest importance in the first page reporting, especially the verdicts of the lower courts, tribunals, disciplinary proceedings of various forums including court martial inquiry of Military, High Court and Supreme Court rulings or judgments, and proceedings of the Election Commission covered this major sector. *The Hindustan Times* followed by *The Times of India* had given highest coverage for the legal stories compared to *The Indian Express* and *the Hindu*. Most of the legal stories again revolve round the crimes of the politicians and bureaucrats which again drive one to the popular perception that the media tend to report mostly about the women and politicians a fact which tends to associate itself with market oriented journalism than value based journalism. Aside from handling criminal cases, the High Courts and the Supreme Court of India had to deal with a good number of cases where the Government wanted to amend the Constitution in such a way that such an action on the part of the Government escaped judicial scrutiny. The quota bills especially came under the severe scrutiny of the Supreme Court as it felt that such an action amounted to changing the very basic structure of the Indian Constitution. As such one finds judicial activism as a positive development to check the one-upmanship of

the executive.

iv. Analysis of page lay out--characteristics of market driven journalism

In the process of analysis of page layout of the four news dailies chosen for study, it was found that the Indian print media reflected the same characteristics- long headlines in preference to short headlines, large size fonts to small fonts, too many photos and advertisements, some of which running in the place of banner headlines—all reflective of characteristics of market driven journalism (See Table 10) as pointed out by McMannus and Randal Beam (Mc Mannus 1994; Randal, 2000).

Under the market driven journalism, framing of headlines implied more than academic and literary considerations for the reader. In fact a headline of a front page of a newspaper is supposed to be akin to that of the screen of the news headlines of the television. It is, therefore, an opportunity to offer the readers a quick look at the important stories of the day in a shortest possible time (Nash, 1998). Extensive photos, graphics, and summary boxes and navigational tools might be viewed as effective tools to appeal to audience with comparatively low level of education, opined by Randal (1998).

Whereas *The Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* followed the trend in tune with the above logic the titles of *The Indian Express* are found to be different in that they were too lengthy with a lot of text placed upon the headlines and below the headlines. In fact the other newspapers like *The Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, though adapted only one tier or two tier short headlines, used large fonts even for smaller news reports running into single columns or double columns instead of multiple columns. Further giving longer, two to three tier titles, for even shorter single columns appeared to be a space filling strategy.

Even Ninan (2007) and Robin (2000) had observed the use of larger fonts disproportionate to the titles, unnecessary graphics and pictures including inset boxes, besides advertisements in the lead lines or headlines. They opined that localization of news as a market driven journalism had engendered such lay out systems from the big corporate houses. Further they too recorded that as the competition grew between the print media no two news papers had similar news and that there was a severe demand for news to fill up the district editions. As such, some of the characteristics which we found as mentioned above could be space filling strategy of the front page.

Apart from manipulating titles –long multi-tier titles to large sized fonts—the use of photos, sketches and caricatures (associated with crime reporting mostly) is another strategy to fill up the space. Though the photos have aesthetic appeal to the eyes of the readers in the colour print, especially with the popular adage, "photo

speaks thousand words than an article”, the purpose of displaying the photos of criminals and the accused in the similar measure does not show the strategy in the proper perspective (eg. Bharati Yadav Photo--in the case of her boy friend, Nitish Katara’s murder by her own brother, Vikas Yadav-- appearing as witness reported in *Indian Express*, *The Hindu*, *Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times*).

The analysis clearly found that there is no justification for use of as many photos, especially very small in the front page. It is also found that some photos were unusually long in size with no purpose forthcoming. In some cases of reporting, photo of the lead character appeared with every story though not required. Showing the photos of criminals every day, in fact, gave them a celebrity status than showing them as criminals. In certain instances, some photos were just published without any story accompanying it either in the front page or in the inside pages. Sometimes the photos did not even have by-lines. These were common features of all newspapers under the study.

Similarly, the major advertisements in the first page of all the newspapers occupied the right hand corner of the page at the anchor space. Mostly educational institutions and banks were the prominent advertisers in the first page. It is purely a departure from what Indian print media were a decade ago. It was a rare situation two decades back to see an advertisement in the front page itself, let alone anchor space (Table 11). This has become a trend in the current advertising in Indian print media in keeping with the increasing business of the educational institutions and banks bubbling with privatization.

The advertising in the front page was also part of space filling strategy, if not a revenue yielding exercise (Randal, 2003). In a way the papers themselves look forward to selling space in the front-page right hand corner (anchor space) at high tariff rates to overcome the crisis of news and to cover up lack of diversity coverage in the front page.

In our study we compared the present journalism practices with that of the past journalism practices and summarized the findings in Table 11.

The preceding interpretations of the phenomenon under study over the sample of four English news dailies thus answered all the research questions raised earlier and it is our strong view that the Indian media had completed the process of metamorphosis into the market driven journalism.

Whereas Randal (1995-2003) studied the content and lay out differences between the strong and weak market oriented news papers on the basis of prerecorded circulation figures, our study focused on the content and layout differences among four leading English news papers whose circulation figures were based on National Readership Survey. Thus, in our study, out of the four

newspapers, *The Times of India* appeared to be more market driven and has strong market orientation. *The Hindu* appeared to be less market driven with weak market orientation. *The Hindustan Times* and *The Indian Express* are in the transition phase and would acquire the strong market orientation sooner or later.

Conclusion

The study of the first page priorities of the four leading English newspapers reveals that the Indian print media too had acquired the contours of market driven journalism originally emanated in the US as a result of globalization and privatization in the post 1990s. Whereas the *Times of India* with its strong market orientation reflected all the important characteristics of market driven journalism, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Indian Express* and *The Hindu* remained in a transition phase showing signs of already acquired contours of market driven journalism in the descending order. No paper, including *The Hindu*, a traditional and conservative paper could escape this phenomenon. Despite changes in the priorities of reporting for first page, with *political* and *crime* reporting taking major slots, the papers seemed to be not comfortable with this. Cramming first page with large and small color photographs, long and large fonts for smaller items, placement of too many advertisements suggest that there is heavy competition among these corporate news papers for news and sometimes, lack of news accentuates the cramming of first page with more such structural decorations in color. Such paper layout strategies often offer news papers the popular image of indulging in tabloidization and trivialization of news and Mudrochization of print media. However, as pointed out by Randal (2003) and Shakuntala (2008) most of these papers still retained their accountability and ability to demand from the Government explanations for increasing corruption, crime, failing governance, etc.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The present study, which is in the form of a pilot study, deals with a limited sample due to the constraints of funding, data collection and manpower. The study should be carried out at a number of state capitals and with same news papers in English and with vernacular papers and the data should be compared on a larger perspective. In fact a public survey of the readership on the characteristics of market driven journalism is very much called for as so far whatever was reported on the subject, it was based on studies of content analysis and interviews with the news room editors. Any analysis coupled with actual readership views would add sociological base to the study. Extensive generalizations would be appropriate only on such larger scale of studies

though the present study is one in the right direction.

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